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GILGAMES AND ENGIDU, MESOPOTAMIAN GENII OF FECUNDITY

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TWO OF THE MOST INTERESTING FIGURES in ancient mythology are the heroes of the Babylonian national epic, Gilgames and Engidu. In this paper they will be studied in as objective a way as possible, avoiding the knotty problems connected with the evolution of the epic. Even on the latter, however, some light may be thrown. A thousand and one tempting ideas come to mind, but our materials are still too scanty for the composition of a successful history of Mesopotamian literature and religion, as shown by the recent attempt of the brilliant philosopher of Leipzig, Hermann Schneider.¹ Thanks to the discovery of the temple library of Nippur, Sumerian literature is swelling so rapidly that few theories can be regarded as established beyond recall. On the other hand, our knowledge is now sufficiently definite to permit lucrative exploitation of comparative mythology and civilization; indeed, since many of these problems may be treated on the molecular, if not the atomic principle (cf. *JBL* 37. 112), their solution is an indispensable prerequisite to the future history of Babylonian thought. My general attitude towards the methods and theories of comparative mythology is succinctly given *JBL* 37. 111-113.

The name Gilgames is usually written ^d*GIŠ-GIN (TU)-MAŠ*, read *Gi-il-ga-mes(š)*, the *Γιλγamos* of Aelian, *De natura anim.*, 12, 21 (Pinches, *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. 4, p. 264). *CT*² 12. 50. K 4359, obv. 17, offers the equation *GIŠ-GIN-MAŠ-*

¹ See his *Kultur und Denken der Babylonier und Juden*, Leipzig, 1910.

² Note the following abbreviations in addition to those listed *JAOS* 39. 65, n. 2: *AEW* = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*; *BE* = *Publications of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*; *GE* = Gilgames-epic; *HT* = Poebel, *Historical Texts*; *JEA* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; *KTRI* = Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*; *NE* = Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*; *PSBA* = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*; *RA* = *Revue d'Assyriologie*; *RHE* = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*; *UG* = Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, Göttingen, 1911; *ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

SI = *Giš-gibil-ga-mes*; CT 18. 30 ab. 6 ff. gives *KALAG-GA-IMIN* = ^d*Giš-gibil-ga-mes*, *muqtablu*, 'warrior,' and *âlik pâna*, 'champion, leader.'³ The latter ideogram is merely an appellative describing him as 'the seven-fold valiant.' The full form of his name, ^d*Giš-gibil-ga-mes* (cf. *SGL* 87), is often found on early monuments, especially seals and votive inscriptions from Erech and the vicinity. In a sacrificial list from Lagaš (De la Fuye, *Documents*, 54. 10. 6; 11. 5) his name appears in the form ^d*Giš-gibil-gin-mes*. As the sibilant must have been primarily *s* (see below), the second element takes the variant forms *ginmas*, *games*, and *ginmes*. Since the first of these writings is late, it may be overlooked in fixing the original pronunciation; the other forms point to a precursor **ganmes*, which became *ginmes* by vocalic harmony, and *games* by syncope. The primary form of the name was, therefor, **Gibilganmes*, whence, by contraction, *Gilgames*, the meaning of which will be considered below.

According to Sumerian historiographers (Poebel, *HT* 75), Gilgames was the fifth king of the dynasty of Eanna (name of the *ziquurat* of Erech), succeeding Meskingašer son of Babbar (the sun-god), who reigned 325 years, Enmerkar, his son (420), Lugalbanda, the shepherd (1200), and Dumuzi, the palm-cultivator (100).⁵ The hero himself was the son of the goddess Ninsun, consort of the god Lugalbanda, and of *Â*⁶, the *enu* or *ramku* (*išib*)-priest of Kullab, a town as yet unidentified, but certainly near Erech. *Â* is also called the *mes-sag Unug* (CT 24. 35. 29-30), 'chief scribe of Erech,' an epithet translated CT 16. 3. 88 (cf. Schroeder, *MVAG* 21, 180) by *nagir Kullabi* (the relation of Erech and Kullab was like that existing between Lagaš and Girsu). His consort is called Ningarsag, or *Nin-gú-e-sir-ka*, both

³ In *âlik pâni* as a heroic appellative we may possibly have the source of the Babylonian royal name Orchamus of Ovid, *Met.* 4, 212, since *ὄρχαμος*, 'leader of a row,' might well be a translation of the expression into Greek.

⁴ Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 40, n. 1. reads the name ^d*Gi-bil-aga-miš*, taking *TU* to be originally *MIR* = *aga* (Br. 6945), and rendering 'The god Gíbil is commander.' This is mere guess-work.

⁵ Poebel took *ŠŪ-GAgunu* to be equivalent to *ŠŪ-ĜA* 'fisherman,' but Barton (*Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 264, n. 3) is almost certainly right in explaining the group as *ŠŪ-PEŠ*, and translating 'palm-tree-fertilizer,' an ideal occupation for a god of fecundity.

⁶ See Förtsch, *OLZ* 18. 367 ff. Sum. *â* means 'father' (for *a'a*, *ada*); *Â* may have been himself a figure of the Attis type. Was his consort originally *Ama*, 'mother' (cf. *Ama Engur*) like Anatolian *Mâ*?

figures closely related to Ninsun. In the Babylonian recension of the second tablet of *GE*, recently published by Langdon, the mother of Gilgames bears the name *rîmtu^m ša supûri Ninsunna*, the *rîmat Ninsun* of the Assyrian version (Poebel, *OLZ* 17. 4 ff.). The 'wild-cow of the fold' corresponds to Leah, consort of the *ab(b)îr Ia^caqob*, 'bull Jacob,' as pointed out *JBL* 37. 117.

The king-list gives Gilgames only 126 years, hardly more than Tammuz, who was torn away in the flower of his youth. Evidently there is a close relation between the hero's vain search for immortality and the short duration of his career. Like the son of Peleus and Thetis he was doomed to die young, a fate which was presumably the original reason assigned for his quest of life. The morbid fear of death and the desire to be freed from the venereal disease, which, as Haupt has made probable, the vindictive Ištar had inflicted upon him, are, at all events, secondary motives, characteristic of a rather corrupt and cynical society, such as may well have existed in Erech during the last part of the third millennium. From *SLT*, No. 5, it appears that Gilgames preserved the title of high-priest of Kullab (*en Kul-ab^{ki}-gê*) after being elevated to the throne. Both in *GE* and its Sumerian prototype he appears as the builder of the wall of Erech, a tradition mentioned in an inscription of Anam of Erech (twenty-second century). According to *GE* 11. 322 he was assisted in this work by seven wise architects (note the motive of the seven sages). In the Sumerian text of a Gilgames-epic, published by Langdon, we read (obv. 15-20; Engidu seems to be addressing the hero):

Unug^{ki} giš-kin-ti dingir-ri-e-ne-gè
ê-an-na ê-an-ta è-dè
dingir-gal-gal-e-ne me-bi ba-an-ag-eš-ám
bád-gal bád an-ni ki-uš-sa
ki-ma-maġ an-ni gar-ra-ni
sag-mu-e-sum za lugal ur-sag-bi =

'In Erech, the handiwork⁷ of the gods,
 Eanna, the temple which reaches heaven,⁸

⁷ Sum.. *giš-kin-ti* (literally 'wooden-work taken hold of'; contrast *SLT* 125), whence *kiškitû* and *kiškattû* (M. 753, 4033), means both 'handiwork,' and 'artisan'; cf. Langdon, *Grammatical Texts*, p. 26, n. 2.

⁸ Cf. Gudea, Cyl. A, 17, 18, etc., for *an-ni uš-sa*, 'reach heaven'; the insertion of *ki* does not affect the sense, nor is the oxymoron intentional.

Where the great gods gave their decrees,
 The great wall, the wall which reaches heaven,
 The mighty structure,⁹ of celestial construction,
 Thou hast the supremacy (hast made head); thou art king and
 hero.'

This passage implies that Gilgames, of whom it is said (obv. 10-11) *gub-gub-bu-dè su(KU)-su-u-dè dumu-lugal-la da-ri e-ne* = 'standing or sitting, ever the son of a king is he,' built the temple Eanna and the wall of the city. A reference to the erection of Eanna is found *GE* 1, 10; see Poebel, *HT* 123. The founding of the city itself is ascribed in the Sumerian chronicle to Enmerkar, *lù Unuga mu-un-da-dú-a*.

As might be expected, Gilgames was regarded as the special patron of the city, a position in which he may easily have enjoyed more popularity than the distant god of heaven, Anu, theoretically the patron of Erech. Several centuries before Anam, Utu-ġegal (*ca.* 2600), the liberator of Babylonia from the yoke of Guti, says in his triumphal inscription (Col. 3, 1 ff.; see *RA* 9. 115): *ḡiṣ-ġibil-ġa-mes du[mu] ḡNin-sun-na-ġè maṣkim-ṣù ma-an-sum; dumu Unug-ġa dumu Kul-ab-ka ṣà-ġul-la ba-an-ġar* = 'G, the son of N, he gave him as a guardian genius; the people of Erech and Kullab he (Gilgames) made joyous of heart.' He received divine honors at Lagaš and Nippur, presumably also elsewhere, while his cult survived into Assyrian times; cf. the image (*ġalmu*) of Gilgames mentioned Harper, Letters, 1. 56.

In turning to consider the original nature of Gilgames, his solar characteristics become immediately apparent. The hero's adventures in the epic remind one involuntarily of the deeds of Heracles and Samson, whose essentially solar nature is clear, even after sundry adscititious elements have been eliminated; mythology is a liberal master, employing motives of the most varied origin in its service. Like the sun-god, Šamaš, our hero (see the incantatory hymn, *NE* 93) is the *da'ân Anunnaki*, 'the judge of the A'; like the sun, again, he is the *ḡâ'iṣ kibrâti*, 'the overseer of the regions'; it is expressly stated (*NE* 93. 8) that the powers of Šamaš are delegated to him. Gilgames figures as Nergal, lord of the underworld, in *SLT*, No. 6, obv. 3. 10 f., *ki-àġ ḡEreš-ki-ġal ḡGiṣ-ġibil-ġa-mes lugal-kúr-ra-ġè* = 'the beloved of

⁹ *Ki-ma* = *ki-má* (*ki-ġar*; cf. *du*(1)-*mar-ra* and *ki-dur*, both = *šubtu*).

E, Gilgames, lord of the mountain (i. e., the underworld).’ In Langdon, *Liturgies*, No. 8, rev. 3, he receives the appellation *umun-ki-ga-gè*, ‘lord of the underworld.’ In the epic his mistress is Išhara, a form of Ištar with marked chthonic associations. Whatever we may think of Egyptian and Greek parallels, in Babylonia it is the sun-god who appears as judge both of the living and of the dead, spending his time as he does half with the shades and half with mortals. While the writing ^d*Giš*, found in the Meissner fragment and the Philadelphia text of the second tablet, is an abbreviation (cf. Poebel, *OLZ* 17. 5), it is interesting to note that ^d*Giš* is explained as *Šamaš*, and that *giš* also = *išātu*, ‘fire’ (*SGI* 98). As these equations suggest, Gilgames stands in close relation to the fire-gods (naturally in many respects solar) Nusku (cf. Hommel, *OLZ* 12. 473 ff.), Gibil (cf. his name), and Gira (cf. *Maqlû* 1. 37 ff.), who shares some of his attributes. In fact, Gira’s ideogram ^d*GIŠ-BAR* (for reading cf. Meissner, *OLZ* 15. 117; for *Gira* < *Gišbara* cf. *JAOS* 39. 87, note; this god must not be confused with ^d*GĪR*, for whom see below) may be partly responsible for the late writing of the name of the hero as ^d*GIŠ-GIN-BAR* (*MAŠ*).

In the capacity of solar hero, Gilgames has much in common with ‘his god’ (*ilīšu*, *GE* 6. 192) Lugalbanda. It may even be shown that the saga of Gilgames has been enriched by the spoils of the latter. In the story of the birth of Gilgames, reported by Aelian, the Babylonian king Seuechoros (Σευηχορος), warned by the astrologers that his daughter would bear a son who would deprive him of the kingdom, shut her up in the acropolis. However, she was mysteriously visited, and bore a son, who was forthwith thrown from the tower. An eagle caught the child on its outstretched wings, and saved it to fulfil the decrees of fate. As Aelian observes, this is the well-known motive of Perseus, while the Babylonian sources available assign the Aeneas motive to the hero, who was the son of a priest of Kullab (originally a god) by the goddess of fertility. Lugalbanda, on the other hand, so far as the texts inform us, follows the Perseus recipe. He is the son of the sun-god, who, we may suppose, had visited his mother in the guise of a golden shower;¹⁰ he passes his youth as a shepherd

¹⁰ The motive of the golden shower is Oriental as well as Hellenic, and may safely be postulated as a common explanation of the mode of solar gen-

before mounting the throne. It is very important to note that his predecessor, Enmerkar, is not called his father; he may safely, however, be regarded as his grandfather. Now, Σενηχορος is to be read *Evηχορος*; the initial C is simply dittography of the final C in the preceding word βασιλεύοντος. Euechoros bears the same relation to *Enmerkar* (pronounced *Enmerkar*) as *Euedora*-(*n*)*chos* does to *Enmeduranki* (cf. also *Evedokos* for *Enmeduga*, pronounced *Enmedok*). We may, therefor, tentatively supply the missing details of the Babylonian legend. Lugalbanda was the son of Enmerkar's daughter by Šamaš. Being thrown from the tower by his grandfather's command, an eagle rescues him; an eagle carries the related Etana to heaven in a similar story. Lugalbanda grows up as a shepherd, and on reaching manhood is elevated by the favor of the gods to his rightful throne. In the later form of the story, transferred to Gilgames, the hero becomes a gardener, since this occupation had become the legendary prerequisite of kingship, as in the sagas of Sargon the Elder and Ellil-bânî of Isin.

My reconstruction of the Lugalbanda myth is supported by the indications in the fragments published *HGT*, Nos. 8-11, all belonging to a single epic, probably part of the Lugalbanda cycle, as follows from the mention of the storm-bird Im-dugud (Zû) in 11, 3. From this text we learn that Enmerkar, son of [Mesingášer] (8, rev. 10), was a mighty king, ruling in Kullab without a rival (8, obv. 4 ff.). Unfortunately, however, the throne has no heir (9, rev. 5 f.: *aratta* [*LAM-KUR-RU-KI*] *áš-ba - - - a-bil* [= *ì-bil* (*RA* 10. 97) = *ablu*] *nu-tug-da*). The poem goes on to introduce the *kurkû* bird (9, rev. 9 ff.): *kûr-gi^u ki-a* [] *pa-te-si Sumer^{ki}-ra* [] *mu-da-kû-ù-dè kin-gi-a En-me-ir-kár en-nun* [] = 'The *kurkû* bird in the land [] the viceroy of Sumer [] to nourish [] the messenger of Enmerkar [held] watch.' Tho the name of Lugalbanda does not occur, we can hardly doubt that this passage alludes to the rescue of the youthful hero from his hostile grandfather by the *kurkû* bird (who may be an inter-

eration. In Hindu tales (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 20, 145; Vol 21, p. 374) a traveler, before setting out on a journey, tells his pregnant wife that the birth of a son will be announced to him by a shower of gold, of a daughter by a shower of silver. These showers are primarily metaphoric expressions for the golden and silver rays of the sun and moon, respectively male and female according to the most general belief.

mediary for Zû, whose relations with our hero would then date from the latter's infancy).

Lugalbanda,¹¹ with the consort Ninsun, was the principal god of Marad,¹² whence he bore the name Lugal-Marâda (*AMAR-da*), and of Tupliaš (*Ašnunak*) in eastern Babylonia. He also received divine honors at Erech and Kullab, especially during the dynasty of Amnanu (*ca.* 2200). Accordingly he is listed among the legendary kings of the postdiluvian dynasty of Erech. Lugalbanda and Ninsun were worshiped also elsewhere, as at Lagaš and Nippur; a patesi of the former city bears the name Ur-Ninsun. Lugalbanda belongs to the same class of modified sun-gods as Ninurta, and hence is combined with Ninšubur and Ningirsu, deities of this type (IIR 59, rev. 23 f.). In a hymn published by Radau (*Hilprecht Anniv. Vol.*, Plates 6-7; cf. p. 418), he is addressed as *kug*¹³ *ḏLugal-banda gu-ru-um kúr-ra* = 'holy L, offspring of the mountains,' and identified with Babbar (Šamaš): *šul ḏBabbar zi-zi-da-zu-dè kalam igi-mu-e-da-zi-zi* = 'Hero Babbar, when thou risest, over the land thy eye thou dost lift,' etc. Like Gilgames, and other old gods of productivity, he came to occupy a prominent position in myth and legend, thanks to the annual celebration of his adventures in mimetic fertility rites. I would not attempt to decide whether his role as shepherd came from solar symbolism (cf. *AJSL* 34. 85, n. 2), or is on a par with the pastoral aspect of other gods of fecundity (cf. *JBL* 37. 116 f.); both conceptions doubtless played a part.

Around the figure of Lugalbanda seasonal and reproductive myths soon crystallized, later spreading from their original home, and developing into the heroic legend, the prototype of the true saga, with its historical nucleus and lavish display of mythical and romantic finery. The saga could not spring, as some appear to think, full-armed from the popular fancy, but had to grow apace as utilitarian cult-motives whetted the imagination. Lugalbanda became the focus of a legendary cycle of very great

¹¹ Radau, *Hilprecht Anniv. Vol.*, p. 429, points out that Lugalbanda as lord of Tupliaš is Tišpak, the *am-banda* = *rīmu eqdu* (Ar. 'āqada = šadda); hence his name means 'mighty king,' rather than 'wise king.'

¹² Modern *Wannet es-Sa'dân*, on the Euphrates, nearly due west of Nippur; see Clay, *OLZ* 17. 110 f., and Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 9. 84.

¹³ For reading *kug* cf. Luckenbill, *AJSL* 33. 187.

interest,¹⁴ since its perfected form, found in the myth of Lugalbanda and Zû, is written in Sumerian, while our Gilgames-epic is a Semitic composition, however much it may have drawn on Sumerian sources. Besides the Assyrian translation of over a hundred lines (*KB* 6. 1. 46 ff.) we now possess goodly fragments of the original Sumerian: *CT* 15. 41-43; *HGT*, Nos. 14-19, and probably also 8-11 (see above); in Nos. 20-21 we have part of a chronicle dealing with events during the reigns of Lugalbanda and his successor Tammuz (cf. *HT* 117). Most of the latter text apparently refers to Lugalbanda, since Tammuz is not mentioned until the close. Along with victorious invasions of Elam, Īalma (= Guti), and Tidnu^m (= Amûru), a disastrous flood which overwhelmed Eridu is described (obv. 11-12): *a-urû-gul-la-gè* [] *NUN-KI a-gal-la si-a* [] = 'the waters of the destructive deluge. . . . Eridu, flooded by the inundation [].' In connection with this the *deus ex machina*, Ninlil, comes on the scene; despite the pseudo-historical setting we are dealing with myth.

The story of Lugalbanda and Zû, personification of the hurricane, is primarily, as has often been observed, the contest between

¹⁴ It is possible that the saga of Nimrod may be an offshoot of the Lugalbanda cycle rather than of the Gilgames cycle, especially since the former seems to have been much more important than the latter in early times, and from a home in Marad more likely to influence the west than the latter, whose hearth was Erech. As lord of Marad Lugalbanda is the *Lugal-Marâda* or the **Nin-Marâda*, just as Nergal-Lugalgira is the *Nin-Girsu*, the lord of Girsu, and as Marduk is the *Nin-Tintir* (*IIE* 59, obv. 47), Ellil the *Nin-Nibru*, or Lord of Nippur (*ibid.* 9); cf. also Sin the *Bêl-Īarrân*, etc. The heroic shepherd and conqueror of wild-beasts, **Nimarâd*, may thus have become the mighty hunter, *Nimrôd*, just as *Dagân* becomes *Dagôn*, and *Hadâd* 'Aðwðos. Similarly the shepherd Damu (Tammuz) became in Byblos the hunter Adonis. The figure of Nimrod was probably influenced by the impressive monumental representations of the Assyrian Heracles; he may easily reflect a western 'Orion,' but Eduard Meyer's view that he was primarily a Libyan 'Jagdriese' is gratuitous. The recent historical theories are still less felicitous: Sethe (*Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 6, p. 650) holds that Nimrod is a corruption of the official name Nebmu^cerê^c of the indolent Amenophis III, appearing in cuneiform as Nimmuriija; Van Gelderen (*Expositor*, 1914, pp. 274 ff.) explains Nimrod as a corruption of Narâmsin, historically possible, but phonetically incredible. Jensen's explanation, deriving *Nimrôd* from **Namurta*, his reading of *NIN-IB*, is antiquated by the discovery of the correct reading *Ninurta*, which became *Inušta* (*JAOS* 38. 197), a form quite unlike Nimrod.

the sun and the storm-clouds, whom he subdues, just as Marduk overcomes Ti'âmat in the cosmogonic reflection of the motive. Without entering into an elaborate discussion of the myth, which I hope to treat elsewhere, I will call attention to an episode which has apparently influenced the Gilgames cycle. Lugalbanda's journey to Mount Sâbu, where the wine-goddess Ninkasi-Sirîs helps him to outwit Zû and recover the tablets of fate, is in some respects the prototype of Gilgames' visit to the wine-goddess Sâbîtu. In *GE* the episode of Sâbîtu's mountain paradise is decidedly in the air; in the older recension, however, it is clearer; instead of being merely in charge of a station on the hero's route to Elysium, she is his real goal.¹⁵ Only after he despairs of securing from her the immortality for which he yearns does he undertake the perilous voyage to Utnapîšti^m. As I shall show in detail elsewhere, the wine-goddess Sâbîtu becomes in effect the divinity of life; in her hands was supposed to rest the bestowal of eternal life, so far as this was terrestrially obtainable. Her name is derived from Mount Sâbu,¹⁶ the abode of Ninkasi, with whom, as will be shown elsewhere, Siduri Sâbitu is essentially identical. I have proved, *AJSL* 35. 179, that the neighboring Mount Ĥašur, the abode of Zû, is Kašîari-Masius, and that Sâbîtu's garden lay in the same region, which corresponds to the northern habitat of the *soma*, as well as to the vineyard-paradise of Anatolia. As clearly indicated in the fragments of the myth, Lugalbanda recovers the *dupšîmâti* by inviting the bird to a banquet, and intoxicating him with the aid of the goddess of conviviality—a motive which reappears in a multitude of similar tales of the Marsyas type. The motive is closely associated with the *soma* cycle of the Indo-Iranians, as will be shown in another article; two distinct motives have evidently been fused, the eagle being the *tertium comparationis*. The *dupšîmâti* belong with the motive above referred to, as they appear also in the creation myth; Lugalbanda originally

¹⁵ Cf. *JAOS* 38. 61-64; additional evidence will be adduced in my article 'The Mouth of the Rivers,' *AJSL* 35. 161-195, and in a paper entitled 'The Goddess of Life and Wisdom,' to appear in *AJSL*.

¹⁶ Mount Sâbu, probably the name of a northern mountain, near Ĝašur-Kašîari-Masius (see my article in *AJSL*, cited in the preceding note), was perhaps selected because of the paronomasia with *sabû*, 'wine,' and its congeners.

goes after the fertilizing rains, symbolized by wine, just as Indra wrests the *soma* from the bird Garuḍa, and bestows it upon the thirsty land. As the draught of the gods is also the potion of immortality, this is at the same time a journey in search of life. That Gilgames' visit to Sâbitu was originally vicarious, made on behalf of his people, is highly probable; he was a god of fertility (see below). The individualizing of the myth naturally resulted in the idea that his mission was vain; did he not die at a relatively early age (see above)? The journey to the Mouth of the Rivers, originally to bring the inundation, has undergone the same modification. As Lugalbanda is a more pronounced sun-god than Gilgames, it is interesting to note that solar motives are unquestionably worked in with our episode; *GE* 9, Col. 4, 46, the nightly journey of the sun thru the *ḥarrân Šamši* of the underworld, in order to be reborn from the womb of the mother-goddess the next morning, is expressly alluded to. It may be that the myth has gained admission to the epic cycle thru the influence of the solar analogy.

In the cult, at least, the solar side of Gilgames was quite subordinate to his aspect as a god of fecundity. The chthonic character of our divinity, while in its specific development implying solar relationship, is no less an indication of kinship with gods of vegetation. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find many Tummuz-motives in the cycle of Gilgames; his amours with Išhara and Ištar are vegetation-myths (cf. *JBL* 37. 115-130). Some of the evidence presented to show that Gilgames was primarily a god of vegetation by Schneider, in his suggestive essay,¹⁷ is not valid, but the main thesis, if somewhat broadened to include the various functions of a god of fertility, is certainly correct. Equally cogent is Prince's view (*Babyloniaca*, 2. 62-64), tho the explanation of ^d*GIŠ-GIN-MAŠ* as 'héros divin de la production' leaves the older writings of the name entirely out of consideration. The symbol of the god was the ^{gis}*a-am* ^d*Gilgames* (*CT* 15. 14, rev. 11, 13), with the Semitic equivalent *ildaqqu* (for ^{*}*iç-daqqu*, 'small tree'), 'sprout, slip.' Hommel (*OLZ* 12. 473 ff.) has ingeniously connected the ^{gis}*a-am* (lit. 'plant of the water of the wild bull') with the cylinder of Sargon the Elder, representing a hero of the Gilgames type watering a wild-bull from a stream, over which a

¹⁷ *Zwei Aufsätze zur Religionsgeschichte Vorderasiens*, pp. 42-84.

young shoot is growing. The scene is evidently symbolical; the stream is the Euphrates, which provides growing vegetation and browsing cattle alike with the needful moisture. Similar representations, primarily serving the purpose of sympathetic magic, will be treated below. The *a-am zi-da* of Gudea, Cyl. A, 5, 8, and 6, 9, is a cult object, apparently a lustral laver, like the *abzu*; in Gudea's dream it is placed before him, toward the sunrise, a position forcibly reminding one of the basin in the *ġit Šamši* of Šilġak-in-Šušinak (*RT* 31. 48), also, of course, placed toward the sunrise. The name may indicate that the basin was placed on the back of a bull, just as the laver of Solomon's temple was supported by twelve bulls,¹⁸ symbolizing, as will be shown elsewhere, the origin of the water from the mouth of the bull Enki, lord of the fresh water (see below), or his attendant bulls, the *gud-sig-sig*, donors of the fecundating water of the two rivers.¹⁹ The *giš-a-am*, which presumably derived its name from the *a-am* by its side, from which it drew moisture, like the *ildaqqu* on the bank of the river, may have been a symbolic tree or post, like the wooden pole of Aširat or the *ġd*-pillar of Osiris.²⁰

¹⁸ In this connection I may take up the problem touched *JAOS* 36. 232. Both *kiiġôr-ki-úr*, 'platform,' and *kiiġôr-kiuru*, 'laver,' are ultimately identical. Primarily *ki-úr* meant 'base, foundation-platform' (*ġuruššu* = *išġu*, *temennu*), whence, like *ki-gal*, 'surface, site, ground,' it is used metaphorically for 'Hades' (cf. Langdon, *Liturgies*, p. 138). The explanation of *ki-úr* as *nêrib erġitim*, 'entrance to the under-world,' reminds one of the Egyptian *mašġaba*, which served as a link between the two worlds. The shrine *ê-ki-ur* in Nippur reminds one of a shrine near Thebes which seems to have been regarded as an entrance to the underworld; cf. Foucart, *PSBA* 32. 102 ff. The laver *kiuru* may have received its name from being on a platform, or it may symbolize the lower world, like the *apsû*, the big laver from which the *egubbê* were replenished; see my article on 'The Mouth of the Rivers,' *AJSL* 35. 161-195.

¹⁹ Cf., for the present, Frank, *Religion*, p. 275.

²⁰ When a tree in which a great numen of fertility resided died, the trunk often remained an object of veneration, being replaced finally by a symbolic post, usually representing a palm or cedar. Lutz has brilliantly shown that the *ġd*-pillar was a stereotyped palm; etymologically it belongs, as I shall show elsewhere, with Assyr. *ġadġu*, 'sign-post.' It may be added that Osiris is the masculine counterpart to Aširat, as both Ember and myself have concluded for different reasons; the old West-Semitic god Ašir, a god of fertility with lunar associations, seems to be identical with Osiris (for *Asireu, Asir). For Osiris and the moon cf. *JAOS* 39. 73, n. 15.

In view of the close relation of Gilgames to the gods Gibil, Šamaš, and Tammuz, I would explain the name **Giš-gibil-gan-mes* (see above) as meaning primarily 'torch-fecundating hero' (i. e., the hero who fecundates with the torch of fertility).²¹ According to a vocabulary cited *SGL* 68, *giš-gibil* = *iççu kabbu* and *giš-gibil* = *iççu irru*, both meaning 'fire-stick,' or 'fire-brand.' In the above-quoted hymn, Gilgames is called *rabbu*²² *ša nîšê*, 'the torch (which illumines) the people.' Similarly we read *KTRI* 1, No. 32, obv. 33; *Šamaš diparka kâtim mâtâti* = 'Šamaš, thy torch overwhelms the lands.' The metaphoric allusion to the sun as a lamp is familiar; cf. *Sûra* 25, 62, where the sun is called *sirâg*, and note that Gibil was symbolized by a lamp. This explanation of *giš-gibil* is much more likely than the one advanced *SGL* 87; at the same time it is perfectly possible that the name Gilgames was later thought to mean 'ancestral hero,' or the like. My translation of *gan* as 'fecundity' is strongly favored by the names *Šagan* and *Sumugan* (see below). Our name falls in the same category as *Dumu-zi-abzu* (Tammuz), 'the loyal child of the subterranean lake' representing vegetation as perennial, never-failing, a happy state which the auspicious name of the god was fancied to aid in producing.²³ Gilgames was worshiped as patron of the growing forces of nature, felt to emanate from the warm rays of the sun. Hence he is a vegetation god, and, like the plants over which he presides, his quest of eternal life is doomed to failure. Thru his association with the sprouting and vigorous, instead of with the fading and dying, with the virile male rather than with the ewe and lamb, he is placed in conscious opposition to Tammuz, the darling of women, who comes to grief thru the wiles of Ištar.

²¹ Contrast the formation of the name with others in the same royal list: *Mes-anni-pada*, 'Hero chosen by heaven'; *Mes-kiag-nuna*, 'Hero loved by the prince' (Ana, god of heaven); *Meskingašer*, perhaps 'Hero sent by the lord' (*kinga* = *kin-gê-a*; *šer* older form of *ner*). Even in name these are lay figures.

²² Read *rabbu*, from *rbb*, 'shoot arrow, flash,' instead of *rappu*, as in Delitzsch, *Lesestücke*, p. 178a; cf. *nablu*, 'flame,' from *nbl*, 'shoot arrow,' etc. I shall discuss the word elsewhere.

²³ *Dumu-zi-abzu* is thus a name like *Apām-napāt*, 'offspring of the water,' an Indo-Iranian genius of fecundity (cf. Gray, *AEW* 3. 18 ff.). In the arid lands of Central Asia the subterranean water-supply was all-important, and the vegetation which depends on it was most appropriately termed 'child of the water.'

It is also theoretically possible that the name Gilgames means 'Torch of the (god) "Hero of fecundity,"' a theophorous formation containing the divine name *Gan-mes*.²⁴ It is noteworthy that a god Games seems to have been known, to judge from the city-name *Kargamiš*, *Karkemiš* (the shift in sibilants is regular in northern Mesopotamia), 'quay of Games.' Virtually all the names of river-ports beginning with *kar* (Assyr. *kâru*), 'quay,' have a divine name as second element; thus, to illustrate without attempting to exhaust the list, we find in the Kossean period *Kar-Adad*, *Kar-Bânîti*, *Kar-Bau*, *Kar-Bêl-mâtâti*, *Kar-Damu*, *Kar-Duniaš*,²⁵ *Kar-Nâbû*, *Kar-Ninlil*, *Kar-Ninurta*, *Kar-Nusku*, *Kar-Šamaš*. For various reasons, which I will not give here, I am inclined to see in Games²⁶ the precursor of the great Euphratean god Dagân.²⁷

The most sympathetic feature of the Gilgames-epic is the enduring intimacy between the king of Erech and his companion, the erstwhile wild-man Engidu. So harmonious is their friendship that the latter almost seems a mere shadow, designed solely

²⁴ *Gan-mes* would be a form like *ukkin-mes*, 'senator' (*puršumu*). The word *gan*, 'fertility' (= *gê*), is found especially in *ama-gan* (see below), and in *ša-gan*, *Sumu-gan*, and *Gan*, names of the god of fertility.

²⁵ There can be little doubt that Streck's explanation of *Karduniaš* is better than Hüsing's (see *ZA* 21. 255 ff., and contrast *OLZ* 11. 160, n. 1). *Kar-Duniaš* may have been originally the Kossean name of a city in north-eastern Babylonia, on the frontier.

²⁶ It is not impossible that our *Games*, later pronounced **Gaiš*, is the *Gš* of *Brgš* (Assyr. *Mâr Gûsi*) in the Zakir inscription. The older form may survive in the Moabite *Kammôš* (Assyr. *Kammusu*), for **Kammêš*, like *Sargôn* for *Sarkên*, etc.—it was long ago suggested that *Karkemiš* meant 'fortress of Chemosh'—which would then belong to the Amorite period of contact with Mesopotamia, like *Damu* and *Laḫmu* (Schröder, *OLZ* 18. 291 f., 294 f.), *Išhara* and *Dagân*, while *Gôš* would be a much later, Aramaean loan, like 𐤀𐤏𐤍 for *Ilumêr*, *Iluyêr*, *Nikkal* for *Ningal*, *Nsk* for *Nusku*, etc.

²⁷ *Dagân*, like *Adad*, with whom he alternates, was originally a weather-god; his name is connected with the root *dg*, 'be cloudy, rainy' (Ar. *dagga*, *dâgâ*, *dâgana*). From the nature of things most gods of productivity are also regents of the weather, and conversely. The ichthyoid development of *Dagân* in Palestine is due to popular etymology connecting the name with *dag*, 'fish,' as natural for a maritime people. Heb. *dâgân*, 'grain,' is probably on a par with Lat. *Ceres*, Assyr. *Nisaba*; cf. the precisely similar use of *Pales*, *Sumuqan*, and Heb. *ʿaštarôṭ haqqôn*. Sanchuniathon's explanation of the name *Δαγων* from *dagan*, *ἐπειδὴ εἶπε σῖτον*, is another artificial etymology, impossible from the Assyrian standpoint.

to act as the hero's mentor, a reflection of his buoyant ideal of life and dismal picture of death. The parallelism is so close that the complementary element found, for example in the story of David and Jonathan, or in that of Etana and the eagle, where one supplies the lacks of the other, is wanting. Gressmann has happily directed attention to the contrast between Gilgames, the exponent of civilization, and Engidu, the child of nature, who develops successively thru the stages of love for animals, for woman, and for a friend (*UG* 92 ff.). The discovery of the Babylonian text of the second tablet has confirmed Gressmann's view; after the vivid description of Engidu's initiation into the benefits and snares of civilization, and his grapple with Gilgames to free the latter from the allurements of Išhara, there can be no doubt that the thought of the gifted poet has been correctly divined. Here, however, as in the story of Joseph, we must not rate the inventive genius of ancient rhapsodists too highly, tho they were sometimes able to construct surpassingly beautiful edifices when the material lay at hand. Engidu is not, as might be fancied from the standpoint of literary analysis alone, an artificial creation of the poet; he is a figure of independent origin, related in character to Gilgames, and attracted to him under the influence of the motive of the Dioscuri; Engidu corresponds to Castor, while his companion, who remains inconsolable after the death of his 'younger brother', is Polydeuces.²⁸

The fundamental identity of Engidu with Gira-Šakan-Sumuqan is now generally recognized (cf. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 480 f.). Their resemblance is indicated in the epic by the phrase *lubušti labiš kîma "GÎR* (I, Col. 2, 38), 'he is dressed in a garment like Sumuqan,' which is naturally a euphemism for 'naked.' Both Sumuqan and Engidu are patrons and protectors of the *bûl çêri*, especially of the gazelle; after death the latter descends to Hades to live with the former, who, being a god of fertility, must die.

It is impossible to reach a definite conclusion in regard to the

²⁸ The most popular conception of the heavenly twins exhibits them as the sun and moon, so it is by no means improbable that Gilgames and Engidu in this role represent the sun and moon, respectively, as suggested by Lutz. It is, at all events, clear from the present investigation that all Gilgames' astral affinities appear to be with the sun, while part, at least, of Engidu's are with the moon.

oldest name of our deity, as a result of the welter of names and the confusion of ideograms which greet us. Thureau-Dangin (*Lettres et contrats*, p. 60; *RA* 11. 103) thinks that the most ancient reading is *Gîr*, but the reading *Ûg* is also possible. *CT* 12. 31, the god's name is written with the character *ANŠU*; *Sa* IV, 11 gives the value *anše* to *GÎR*, a confusion due to the close resemblance in form between the signs. As the original form of *GÎR*, a lion's head (Barton, No. 400), shows, our god was primarily leonine (*ûg* = *labbu*, *nêšu*, *ûmu*, 'lion'; *ûmu*, *nûru*, *Šamaš*, 'light, sun'); from Sum. *gir* is derived *girru*, 'lion,' properly 'the mighty one,' like Ar. 'ásad. The lion is, of course, a typically solar animal (see below). The vocabularies give for ^d*GÎR* the pronunciations *Šakan* (*CT* 12. 31, 38177.4), *Šakkan* (*CT* 29. 46. 9), and *Sumuqan* (*CT* 24. 32. 112), *Sumugga* (*CT* 29. 46. 8), a reading which was perhaps the most common, as it appears written phonetically *Su-mu-un-ga-an* (*SLT*, No. 13, rev. 12). *Sumugan* (Akkadian *Sumuqan*) is probably equivalent to later Sumerian *gan-sum-mu*, 'giver of fecundity'; *Šagan* (later *Šakan*, *Šakkan*, like *Makkan* for *Magan*) is an abbreviation of *Amašagan-gub* (*CT* 29. 46. 12), written *Ama-GAN* + *ŠA-gub* in a cylinder published by Thureau-Dangin (*RA* 11, 103 f.), a name which means 'He who assists mothers in child-birth' (*ama-gan* = *ummu ãlittu*; see above). *CT* 29. 46 gives as ideographic equivalents of *GÎR*, *GÎR-GAZI AM*, *GAN*, and *MÁŠ*, all referring to his functions as patron of animal productivity.

The name Engidu (*CT* 18. 30. 10) is written in the Assyrian recension of *GE* ^d*En-ki-dú*, in the southern text ^d*En-ki-du(g)*; we also find the writing with a parasitic nasal ^d*En-ki-im-du* (*SLT* 178, n. 2). Langdon's explanation as *bêlu ša erçita^m uřahhãdu* (*dù* = *řahãdu*), 'Lord who fructifies the earth,' may be correct. In view, however, of *KI-DÚ* = *KI-GAL*, both pronounced *sur* (*SGL* 252) = *bêrãtu*, 'depths' (*mãt bêrãtu* = *qibiru*, 'grave' = *aralũ*; note that Heb. *bôr* and *řahãř* = *ře'ól*), Zimmern's idea²⁹ seems preferable, and *Engidu* may be rendered 'Lord of the underworld,' like *Enki*, which almost certainly has this meaning. Enki-Ea and Gira-Sumuqan were originally related

²⁹ See *KB* 6. 1. 571 f., and *KAT*⁸ 568, n. 6. *Sur* means 'depth, source' (*asurraku* is 'ground-water, source-water' contrast *SGL* 251), 'gulch' (*řarru*, *SGL* 252), and perhaps 'submerge' (*sur* = *ZAR* = *řarãru* [*AJSL* 34. 244. 91], otherwise *gigri*, *loc. cit.*).

figures; the latter is mentioned after *Ea-bêl-ḥasîsi*, 'Ea the lord of wisdom,' in the Mattiqaza treaty.³⁰ Most interesting is the divine name *dSumugan-sigga-bar*, 'Sumuḡan the wild-goat,' since it virtually identifies our deity with Ea.³¹ In an incantation over the holy water (*ASKT* 77, No. 9, 6) we read: *a sigga-bar-ra-mi*³² *-zid-dè-eš-dug-* [*ga*] = 'water' which by the wild goat (Ea; cf. next line: *ka-kug dEn-ki-gè na-ri-ga-ám*, 'the holy mouth of Enki is pure') is continually made soft (Akkadian very free, *mû ša ina apši kēniš kunnû*). Engidu's own character as donor of fertilizing water to vegetation is clear from *SLT*, No. 13, rev. 13: [*En-ki*]-*im-du ab-si-im-ma e-pa-ri gi-ir-za-al [še-gu]-nu ma-a* = 'Engidu, who makes abundant (*zal* = *šutabrû*, 'be sated with') the irrigating ditches and canals for the herbage, who causes the sesame (?)³³ to grow.' He also appears as a satyr, or vegetation spirit *GE* I, Col. 2, 36 f.; *ubbuš pīritu kīma sinništi*; [*pi*] *tiq pīritišu uḥtannaba kīma Nisaba* = 'he is decked with hair like a woman: the growth (lit. formation) of his hair is as luxuriant as (standing) grain.'

³⁰ *OLZ* 13, 296.

³¹ Ea is given the name *dDār*, the divine wild-goat (ibex), *IVR* 25, 40a. and *dDār-abzu*, 'ibex of the nether sea,' *IIE* 55, 27c, whence in the list of divine barks, K 4378, his ship is called the *gišmā-dār-abzu*. The *dār-abzu* appears in art as a goat-fish, *suḡur-māš* (cf. *JAOS* 39, 71, n. 12.)

³² Delitzsch (*SGL* 146) prefers to read *gēme* (*dug-ga*), but the parallel form *giš-dug-ga* does not make this necessary. The reading *mi* is proved by the gloss *mi* to *SAL* in *SAL-zid-dug* in a text published by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 11, 144, 14. Some of the passages where our word occurs will not admit Delitzsch's rendering. Assyr. *kunnû* (cf. *KB* 6, 1, 435), from *kanû*, means properly 'fix, appoint, assign, apply' (the root *kn*, whence *kānu* and *šakānu*, means 'set, establish'), hence 'apply a name' in Ar. and Heb., 'count' in Eg. (*čny*), and in Assyr. 'make fitting, suitable, adorn, care for' (like 𐤊𐤍𐤏. Job 32, 21; this illustrates the connection between Ar. 'āhāba, 'prepare,' and Heb. אהב, 'love'). Eth. *mekenīāt*, 'cause, opportunity, pretext,' seems to afford a parallel to Lat. *opportunitas*, properly 'fitness.'

³³ Barton's explanation of *gu* as 'sesame' (*BA* 9, 2, 252) seems plausible; the ideogram means 'oil of heaven,' corresponding to Sem. *šamaššamnu* ('sun-plant,' Haupt). Sum. *gunu* may even stand for **mušni* (the oldest form of the word, reflected by the ideogram *ŠE-GIŠ-NI*) > **muni* (like *mutin*, 'vine,' for *muštin* > *geštin*) > **munu* (by vocalic harmony) > *gunu*. An increasing number of parallels, which I am collecting, shows that such a relation between *EME-KU* and *EME-SAL*, or litanic (Haupt) forms is quite regular.

Like Tammuz, the ^d*Sīb* (= *rê'û*),³⁴ Sumuqan is a shepherd, guardian of all animal life, wild as well as tame. *KTRI*, No. 19, obv. 2 f., Sumuqan is called *nâqīdu ellum massû ša Anī ša ina pût karši nâšû šibirra* = 'holy shepherd, leading goat of Anu, who carries the shepherd's staff before the flock (?).' In 13 we hear of the *bûl Sumuqan*, his cattle, and in 15 his name is followed by *nam(m) aštê ša ġî[ri^m]*, 'the beasts of the plain.' The text is a hymn to Šamaš; in the first line we must read ^d*Sumuqan mâ (!)r[u] narâmka*, 'S, the son whom thou lovest'; Sumuqan was the son of the sun. Similarly, *SLT*, No. 13, rev. 13, we find *Su-mu-un-ga-anzi-gâl ši-in-ba-ar ú-ši-im-dib-a* = 'S, who oversees living creatures and provides them with herbage.' Accordingly, when wild animals were needed for sacrificial purposes, Sumuqan had first to be appeased, that his dire wrath over the slaughter of his creatures might be averted. In the interesting 'scape-goat' incantation (*ASKT*, No. 12),³⁵ Enki, after giving Marduk his commission, instructs him: ^d*Sumuqan dumu^dBabbar sib-nûg-nam-ma-gè maš-dá^dEdin-na ġu-mu-ra-ab-tum-ma;^dNin-ildu (IGI-LAMGA-GID) lamga-gal-an-na-gè illuru³⁶ šû-kug-dim-ma-na ġu-mu-ra-ab-tum-ma; maš-dá^dEdin-na du-a igi^dBabbar-šû u-mè-ni-gub. lugal-e - - - maš-da igi^dBabbar-šû ġe-en-sîg-ga* (rev. 10 ff.) = 'Let Sumuqan, sun of Šamaš, shepherd of everything, bring a gazelle of the desert; let Ninildu, the great artificer of heaven, bring a bow made by his pure hands; place the gazelle toward the sun. Let the king - - - shoot the gazelle, (facing) toward the sun.' When the gazelle is shot, the sin and sickness of the king leave him and enter the beast. Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, No. 100, 25, a wild-sheep, [*ša*] *ibbanû ina supûri elli ina tarbaçi ša Gira (written Ġir-ra)* = 'which was created in the pure enclosure, in the fold of Gira' (i. e., in the wilderness), is presented for sacrifice.

Sumuqan is in a special sense the god of animal husbandry, the fecundity of cattle, and even their fructification being ascribed to

³⁴ Cf. Zimmern, *Tamûz (Abh. Sächs. Ges. Wiss., Vol. 27)*, p. 8.

³⁵ While it must be admitted that the *mâš-ġul-dub-ba* was killed before the termination of the ceremony, the scape-goat was turned loose to be devoured by wild-beasts, which amounts to the same thing, so Prince and Langdon are justified in employing the term. For the debate between Prince and Fossey see *JA*, 1903, 133 ff.

³⁶ For reading see Langdon, *RA* 12. 74. 17, and 79, n. 7.

his agency.⁸⁷ Thus we read (*ibid.* 35 ff.): *anášikunúši - - - puhátta - - - ša azlu lá išhítu eliša, riḫût Sumuqan lá imquta ana libbīša* = 'I bring you a ewe-lamb, upon which a wild-sheep has not yet leaped, into which the sperm of Sumuqan has not yet fallen.' The most important passage is *Maqlû*, 7, 23-30, hitherto misunderstood:—*šiptu: aráhika râmânî aráhika pagrî kîma Sumuqan irḫû bûlsu lahru immerša çabîtu armaša atânu mûrša, narṭabu erçitîm irḫû erçitîm imḫuru zêrša. addî šipta ana râmânî'a; lirḫî râmânîma lišēçî lumnu, u kišpi ša zumrî'a lisuhû ilâni rabûti* = Incantation: I impregnate thee, myself; I impregnate thee, my body, just as Sumuqan impregnates his cattle, and the ewe (conceives) her lamb, the gazelle her fawn, the she-ass her colt, (just as) the noria⁸⁸ impregnates the earth, and the earth conceives her seed. I apply the incantation to myself; may it impregnate me and remove the evil; may the great gods extirpate the enchantment from my body.' In the same way we have, *PSBA* 23, 121, rev. 11, *kîma šamû irḫû irçiti im'idu šammu* = 'just as heaven impregnates earth (with rain) and herbage increases.' The passage has been misunderstood also by Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 93, n. 8; *rahû* has just as concrete a meaning here as *GE* I, Col. 4, 21.

As patron of animal husbandry Sumuqan becomes the principle of virility. Hence his association with the remarkable rite of masturbation, by the ceremonial practise of which evil was expelled. We need not suppose that in Assyrian times the rite was more than symbolical; originally, however, it must have been actually performed. In Egypt one of the most popular myths represented the creator, Atum, as creating the gods in this way (cf. *Apophis-book*, 26, 24 f.; *Pyramid* 1248: 'Atum became an onanist [*i'us'u*] while he was in Heliopolis. He put his phallus in his fist, in order to satisfy his lust with it [*udnf ḫnnf m ḫf'f, irf*

⁸⁷ To use current terminology, he is the *mana* residing in the male.

⁸⁸ The *gišapin* = *narṭabu* was probably a great undershot water-wheel, Ar. *nâ 'ûra*; Heb. 'ôfân, 'wheel' may be derived from *epinnu* (cf. *Maynard*, *AJSL* 34. 29) < *apin* (in this connection I would like to point out another Hebrew word derived from Sumerian [cf. *AJSL* 34. 209]: *môrâḫ*, 'threshing sledge,' is Sum. *marrag* = *narpasu*, with the same sense, as is certain from the ideogram (cf. *SGI* 175), which means 'sledge to thresh grain,' or *tribula*). The ancient Babylonians may also have employed the *çerâ* (Meissner, *BA* 5. 1. 104 f.).

nđm mt imf]. The two twins, Šû and Tefêne, were born').³⁹ The Aegaeon peoples doubtless possessed similar ideas about the origin of life, preserved in a modified form in the hermaphrodite god of fecundity, Phanes, who, according to Suidas, was portrayed *αἰδοῖον ἔχων περὶ τὴν πυγὴν*, 'penem habens iuxta nates.'⁴⁰ There is no direct trace of an onanistic theory of creation in Babylonia; the magical ceremony in *Maqlû* is evidently based on a fertility charm, not dissimilar to the many cases gathered by Frazer, Schröder, and others, where a sexual union of some kind is executed or symbolized in order to induce fertility by homeopathic magic. We may safely trace our peculiar brand of symbolic magic to pastoral customs; both in Babylonia and in Greece the practise of onanism is connected with the satyr-shepherds Sumuqan and Pan.⁴¹ A curious aetiological explanation of the custom is given by Dion Chrysostom (Roscher, III, 1397): *ἔλεγε δὲ παίζων τὴν συνουσίαν ταύτην εὐρημα εἶναι τοῦ Πανός, ὅτε τῆς Ἥχους ἐρασθεὶς οὐκ ἐδύνατο λαβεῖν * * * τότε οὖν τὸν Ἑρμῆν (the ithyphallic, like Eg. Min) διδάξαι αὐτόν * * * ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τοὺς ποιμένας χρῆσθαι μαθόντας.* The story is perhaps late; the idea that Pan's *ταλαιπωρία* consequent on the escape of the elusive nymph was cured in this way is sufficiently grotesque to be ancient, but hardly naïve enough. Onanism was, of course, common among shepherds, a virile race, often deprived of female companionship, and forced to while away tedious siestas with the flocks, a necessity which gave rise to

³⁹ A similar conception is reflected in Pyr. 701: *śy'đ Ttî - - r 'gbî tp m 'stf, r bnîit imîit hf'f* = 'Make Teti more flourishing (greener) than the flood of Osiris that is upon his lap (the Nile), more than the date which is in his fist' (the date, like the fig, has phallic significance). According to this extraordinary conception, the Nile arises thru the continuous masturbation of Osiris; later the grossness of the symbolism was softened by speaking merely of the efflux (*rđy*) of the god's body, which does not, of course, refer to the ichor of the decomposing corpse, but to the fecundizing seed. The Egyptians also fancied that the Nile was the milk of Isis (Pyr. 707, etc.). The Sumerians fancied that the silt in the rivers was caused by Innina's washing her hair in the sources (see especially *ASKT*, No. 21), and that the rivers were the menstrual flow from the lap of the earth-goddess (*JAOS* 39. 70).

⁴⁰ In art, at least, Hermaphrodite is less grotesque, resembling rather Eg. H'pî, the Nile-god.

⁴¹ *Pan* stands for *Πᾶων, connected with *pastor* and *Pales*; *Sumuqan* and *Nisaba* are employed for 'cattle,' and 'grain,' precisely like *Pales* and *Ceres*. Both Engidu and Pan are associated with springs and fountains, where their 'heart became merry, in the companionship of the beasts.'

bestiality as well (see below), as illustrated by an amusing story in Aelian, *De nat. anim.*, 6, 42.

The relation of Sumuqan to the reproduction of animals is drastically represented in archaic seal-cylinders (cf. Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, No. 197, etc., and especially the beautiful seal in De la Fuye, *Documents*, 1, plate 9), where a naked god with a long beard and other marks of virility (the heroic type) grasps a gazelle by the horns and tail in such a way that the sexual parts come into contact.⁴² The reason for the frequency of this motive on the early cylinders is not hard to find. Many, if not most of the seals in a pastoral country like early Babylonia belonged to men who had an active interest in the prosperity of the flocks and herds. Our scene belongs primarily to the category of sympathetic magic; by depicting the lord of increase in his fecundating capacity the flock would become more prolific. The origin of many similar representations on the monuments must be explained on this principle. One of the clearest cases is the scene showing two genii of fertility (Heb. *Kerûbîm*) shaking the male inflorescence over the blossoms of the female date-palm, with the winged solar disk above to bestow early maturity of fruit (cf. Von Lusehan, *Die ionische Säule*, pp. 25 ff.)⁴³ The Sumuqan motive was as completely misunderstood in the process of mechanical imitation

⁴² In this connection may be mentioned two cylinders published by Toscanne, *RA* 7. 61 ff., so far unexplained. One represents a female squatting over a prostrate man, while another man seizes her wrist with his right hand, drawing a dagger with his left. The second shows a similar nude figure hovering in the air (so; contrast Toscanne) before a man, who holds a lance to ward her off. These creatures are ghouls, the Babylonian *ardât lili*; the seals, which belonged to harem officials, may have had apotropaeic purpose. A commentary is provided by Langdon, *Liturgies*, No. 4, 14 ff.:

šâ-ki-âg bâr-bâr-ri-dê
 šâ-ki-âg ur-i-ri-dê (for ù-ri-ri = ù-ku-ku?)
 šâ-ki-âg an-ta im-đû-đim đûb ša (?)
 [] kalag a-gi-đim ġe-ra-ra =

‘When the beloved (of the *lilit*) was stretched (in sleep),
 When the beloved lay sleeping (?),
 Upon the beloved like a storm from above coming down (?),
 [] the man like a flood verily she overwhelmed.’

⁴³ A similar motive is found on a cylinder in the collection of Dr. J. B. Nies, representing a figure stretching out his hands, from which sprouts grow, over a flock, as if in blessing.

as the palm-tree motive.⁴⁴ The phallism disappears; the gazelle even becomes bearded, and is transformed into a bull-man wrestling with the hero (contamination with the beast-combat motive). In some of the cylinders the latter seems to be protecting the gazelle from a lion which is in the act of springing upon her.

The hero in this scene is unquestionably Sumuqan-Engidu, whose association with the gazelle is familiar from the epic as well as from the passages cited above.⁴⁵ Jastrow pointed out long ago (*AJSL* 15. 201) that Engidu, like Adam, was supposed to have had intercourse with the beasts before knowing woman. *GE* 2 describes very vividly how Engidu lived with the gazelles, protecting them from the hunter, accompanying them to the watering place, and drinking milk from their teats (*GE*, Langdon, Col. 3, 1-2). When he returned after his adventure with the courtesan to consort with the gazelles, they failed to recognize him, as his wild odor had been corrupted by the seven days' liaison with the emissary of civilization. So fixed was his semi-beastial character that he apparently follows the *mos pecudum* even with the *šamḥat* (Jensen, *KB* 6. 1. 428). Of course, the above described representation is not purely symbolical in character; the idea doubtless came from current practises. The gazelle, so beautiful and graceful, and so easily tamed, was presumably employed in the ancient Orient for the same purpose as the goat in Mediterranean countries, and the llama or alpaca in Peru. An anatomical reason for the superiority of the gazelle in this respect is stated in the Talmudic tractate *‘Erûḇîm*, fol. 54 b, commenting on the significant expression אֵילַת אַהֲבִים. Prov. 5, 19, in the usual fashion: מַה אֵילָה רַחֲמָה צֶרַח וְחִבִּיבָה עַל בּוֹעֵלָה כֹּל שְׁעָה וְשְׁעָה כִּשְׁעָה רֵאשׁוֹנָה אִף דְּבַרֵי תוֹרָה חִבִּיבִין עַל לּוֹמְדֵיהֶן כֹּל שְׁעָה וְשְׁעָה כִּשְׁעָה רֵאשׁוֹנָה. The gazelle was associated with the cult of the goddess of fecundity among the Western Semites and in Arabia; some references to the older literature are given by Wood, *JBL* 35. 242 f. At Mekka small golden images of the gazelle were worshipped.

⁴⁴ As a sequel to the series of illustrations given by Von Luschan, note a relief from the Parthian period, figured in Andrae, *Hatra*, II, 149, forming a sort of transition to the familiar heraldic group of the lion and unicorn, 'fighting for the crown.'

⁴⁵ *Sûra* 11, 59, 'There is not a beast whose forelock (*nâçîja*) he does not grasp,' might almost have referred to Sumuqan, so similar is the posture.

The West-Semitic god Rešep was a gazelle-god; a gazelle is carved on the forehead of his statuettes (Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. 1, p. 33). Of special importance is the fact that the gazelle was sacred to the ithyphallic Min of Koptos, also an onanist, and presumably equally devoted to his favorites, who enjoyed the honors of mummification. The gazelles were later, in the interests of decency (?), and in accordance with ideas elsewhere, transferred to Isis (Aelian, *op. cit.* 10, 23): *σέβουσι δὲ ἄρα οἱ αὐτοὶ Κοπτῖται καὶ θηλείας δορκάδας καὶ ἐκθεοῦσιν αὐτάς, τοὺς δὲ ἄρρενας (naturally!) καταθύουσιν. ἄθυμα δὲ εἶναι τὰς θηλείας τῆς Ἰσιδός φασιν.*

It may further be shown that our divinity was regarded in one important myth as the son of the sun-god by a gazelle. First, however, we must return to the lion-god, *Ûg* or *Gira*,⁴⁶ who represents the solar heat both in its destructive and in its fecundating aspects. Hence the god of pestilence, the lion (*KB* 6. 1. 60.3) Irra or Nergal, is associated with *Gir-ra* (*CT* 25. 50. 15), and Ninurta is compared (Radau, *BE* 29, No. 4, 1) to the lion-god who prowls in the night looking for prey (^d*Gir-ra-dim gê-a du-du*). The lion-god is found elsewhere, especially in Asia Minor, where the Anatolian Heracles (Sandon, etc.) is represented standing on a lion (see Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*,³ pp. 127, 139, 184). In Egypt the ferocious goddess of war and destroyer of mankind, *Šhmt*, is lion-headed. The intimate relation between Gira and Nergal (Lugalgira) appears from the fact that both are gazelles as well as lions; Nergal is called the *mašda* in the vocabularies *CT* 11. 40, *K* 4146. 22-23, and *CT* 12. 16b. 38-39. As a gazelle-god he is patron of productivity; his specialized aspect of lord of the underworld was developed after he had been admitted to the greater pantheon of Babylonia.

We should certainly expect to find some reflection of so popular a deity and hero as Sumuqan-Engidu in the list of post-diluvian kings, along with Tammuz, Lugalbanda, and Gilgames. Nor are we deceived; one can hardly doubt that Gira is the successor of *Qalûmu*^m, 'young ram,' and *Zuqûqîp*, 'scorpion,' and the predecessor of Etana, whose name is variously written *Ar-ûu*, *Ar-ûu-u*, and *Ar-bu-um*. The word was also used commonly as a per-

⁴⁶ Engidu is called *nimru ša çêri*, 'panther of the desert' (*GE* 10. 46). Sum. *ûg* or *gîr* seems to have denoted both 'lion' and 'panther.'

sonal name; see Chiera, *Personal Names*, Part I, p. 64, No. 275: *Ar-ūu-um*,⁴⁷ *Ar-bu[-um]*, *Ar-mu-e-um* (No. 276 is the corresponding fem., *Ar-ūi-tum*, *Ar-mi-tum*). We can identify our name without hesitation with Heb. 'ariê, 'lion,' Eth. *aruê*, 'beast,' Ar. *aruâ*, 'ibex';⁴⁸ *aruû* stands for **aruaiû*, a form like *arnabu*, 'hare' (Ar. 'arnab), which also is a common proper name (cf. Chiera, No. 277, *Arnabtum*). Now, *Aryûm* is called the son of a gazelle in *HGT*, Nos. 2 and 5. It is true that in No. 3 we have *maš-en-dâ* = *muškênu*, for *maš-dâ* = *çabîtu*, but this is evidently a scribal error.⁴⁹ The existence of a predecessor of Gilgames named 'Lion' appears further from *GE* 6. 51-52; rationalism has transformed the lion-god into an animal loved by Istar, *more Pasiphaes*. Fecundizing demigods were often regarded as born of animal mothers; cf. *JBL* 37. 117. The father of *Aryûm* was, of course, Šamaš, also the parent of the related Meskingašer and Lugalbanda, as well as of the bull-god ^u*GUD mâr* ^u*Šamaš* (Denefeld, *Geburtsomina*, p. 37, 19). In this connection it may be noted that these three Semitic animal names all belong to the dynasty of Kiš, while the rulers of the following kingdom of Eanna are all Sumerian. This is probably due to the fact that the Sumerian legends current in northern Babylonia, which became predominantly Semitic long before the south, were early Semitized.

A most curious reflection of the cycle of Sumuqan-Engidu is found in the popular Indian story of 'Gazelle-horn' (*Ṛṣya-śrṅga*),⁵⁰ best treated by Lüders (*Nach. Gött. Ges. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1897, pp. 87 ff.) and Von Schröder (*Mysterium und Mimius*, pp. 292-303). There are two principal recensions, Sanskrit and Pāli, both based upon a common prototype, now lost, as Lüders has shown. Schröder has adopted the dramatic theory of Hertel, and pointed out further that the representation was a mimetic fertility charm. According to the first recension,

⁴⁷ Cf. *CT* 4. 50, and 6. 42a, where the name also occurs.

⁴⁸ For the development 'ibex,' cf. Eg. *m'hā*, 'oryx antelope,' lit. 'white lion.'

⁴⁹ There is much confusion between *mašda*, 'gazelle,' and *mašenda* = *muškênu*; cf. *CT* 11. 40, K 4146, 25-26, and *CT* 12. 16. 41-42.

⁵⁰ Cf. also Jensen, *ZDMG* 67, 528, who, as often, goes altogether too far in the exuberance of discovery.

Ṛṣyaśrṅga is the son of a gazelle, made pregnant by drinking from water in which a holy man has bathed. He grows up to be a hermit (wild man) in the forest, associating with animals and ignorant of woman. When a drought afflicts the land, the king is informed by the Brahmans that it cannot be checked until the hermit is brought to the court. After a courtesan has seduced him from his ascetic life, rain falls. In the Buddhist *Jātaka*, Śakra (Indra) sends a three years' famine upon the land, and refuses to remove the ban until the obnoxious hermit is seduced by the king's daughter. The princess succeeds, by a familiar ruse, and Śakra is pacified. The hermit relates the experience to his father, who admonishes him, and draws him back to his ascetic career; the last is naturally a Buddhistic modification, quite foreign to the original tale. The ascetic character of 'Gazelle-horn' is on a par with the Sicilian Santa Venera (Venus), and cannot be regarded seriously. His wild character is original, as also, evidently, his intimate association with gazelles; on a relief of Amarāvati (Lüders, p. 133) he is portrayed as a man with long braided hair, a skin over his shoulder and a girdle about his hips, in the company of three gazelles.

In the Gilgames-epic Engidu is molded by Aruru, the creatress of man; he lives in the wilderness, consorting with the gazelles, and protecting them against the hunter. The latter protests to Gilgames, who sends a courtesan to seduce the wild man, a commission which is duly executed. As seduction of the male is a very common motive in the cult-legends of Oriental gods of fertility (see *JBL* 37. 123 f.), we may safely assume that the theme was once the subject of mimetic representation in Babylonia. The form of the story which has been incorporated into *GE* is much modified to suit the new situation. Moreover, it is here associated with the motive of the creation of the first man, describing his intercourse with animals, his seduction, and the fall from primitive innocence which ensued (Jastrow, *loc. cit.*). The myth current among the worshipers of Sumuqan must have been somewhat different. In the first place, the hero is a child of the sun by a gazelle. Being a demi-god, he is not content with breaking the snares of the hunter, and filling up his pits; he sends a famine against the land. This is a motive familiar elsewhere, as in the legends of Brauron and Munichia, whose inhabitants kill a she-bear and are punished by Artemis with famine

and pestilence. Similarly, according to a legend preserved in the *Qur'ân*, God sent a supernatural camel to test the Thamûdites (7, 71 ff.; 11, 67 ff.; 26, 155 ff.; 54, 27 ff.), imposing the condition that they must share their fountain with the *nâqatu 'Uâhi* alternate days. Disregarding warnings, they houghed the camel, and were destroyed by a cataclysm. Another parallel is found in Persia, if we accept Carnoy's doubtful explanation of the punishment of Mašya and Mašyôî (*JAOS* 36. 315).

We may reconstruct the myth of Sumuqan very plausibly, after making the necessary alterations in the form found in *GE*. The king sends a courtesan to seduce the god or hero of fertility; with sexual union the charm is broken, and rain returns to the land. Whether this was the exact form of the myth or not is, of course, doubtful; it is, however, evident that all the elements are here from which precisely such a tale as the *Ṛṣyaśrînga*-story may be derived in the most natural way. Jensen is certainly wrong in seeing here a direct loan from *GE*, as the gazelle-mother does not occur in the latter. But it is very probable that our story goes back eventually to a Mesopotamian origin; in no other case that I have seen is the likelihood so great. Indologists who regard all Hindu fiction as autochthonous would do well to read Gaston Paris' posthumous monograph on the origin and diffusion of the 'Treasury of Rhampsinitus' (*RHR* 55. 151 ff., 267 ff.). No doubt a few stories retold in other countries originated in the prolific climate of Babylonia.

The conceptions of Sumuqan hitherto considered exhibit him as a lion, like Nergal, a wild-goat, like Ea, a gazelle, like Nergal, Rešep, and Min. Besides these three animal incarnations, we have a fourth, the ass, as appears from the vocabulary *CT* 12. 31, 38177, 4-5, where ^dANŠU has the pronunciation *Šakan* (see above). That this datum is not due to graphic corruption with *GIR* is perfectly evident from the context, which is devoted to ass-names. Moreover, the ^dANŠU appears in early proper names.

Ass-worship did not, so far as we know now, attain much importance in any Mediterranean country except Anatolia, where we find the Phrygian ass-divinity Silenus, reflected in the legendary Midas, whose person, despite its mythical robe, is a reminiscence of a historical dynasty of Phrygian kings (Mita of Muške). Another ass-god was Priapus, whose cult centered in

Lydia and Mysia (Lampsacus), to whom the ass was sacrificed, and who in some myths was the son of an ass (Roscher, III, 2970). In Egypt, from the Hyksos period on, Set (Štš, Šth) of Avaris was worshiped as lord of Asia under the form of an ass (𐎓𐎏𐎗), which led to the Egypto-Hellenistic libels regarding the worship of Īahô as an ass in Jerusalem. The beast of Set was originally perhaps an ant-bear (Schweinfurth), at all events not an ass, so we may ascribe the identification of the no longer recognized figure with the ass to Hyksos (i. e. Anatolian) influence.⁵¹ The association of the ass with fecundity might be illustrated by a mass of evidence, mythological, pornographic, and philological. The quasi-divine nature of the ass appears from Juvenal's statement (6, 334) that prominent Roman matrons consorted with the animal at the orgies of the 'Bona Dea.' That bestiality of this sort was practised elsewhere is clear from Apuleius, *Met.*, 10, 22, and Lucian's Λούκιος ἡ ὄνος, which draws freely from Syro-Anatolian tales and customs.

As might be expected, the fecundizing sun was symbolized as an ass, and ☉ was, accordingly, one of the solar names in the Egyptian litany (*PSBA* 15. 225). Solar eclipses were fancied to be caused by a huge serpent (*hîu*), which swallowed the ass of heaven, a catastrophe depicted most vividly in the vignettes accompanying the text of the *Book of the Dead* (*ibid.* pl. 13, facing p. 219).⁵²

We have also direct evidence that the ass-god Šakan was identified with the moon in the name ^dEN-ZU-^dANŠU = Sin-Šakan, 'Šakan is the moon.'⁵³ The only other clear lunar ass with

⁵¹ Cf. also Müller, *OLZ* 16. 433-6. Schiffer's Marsyas theory (cf. *OLZ* 16. 232) is untenable; while an ass-god may well have been worshiped in Damascus, the Assyrian name *ša imêrêšu*, '(City) of asses,' refers to the extensive caravan trade of the latter (Haupt, *ZDMG* 69, 168-172). Another *ālu ša imêrê*, in the Zagros, is mentioned among the conquests of the Elamite king Šilḫak-in-šušinak (*RT* 33. 213. 14).

⁵² The Egyptians also believed in an obscene ass-demon; cf. Möller, *Sitz. Berl. Akad.*, 1910, p. 945.

⁵³ Pinches, *PSBA* 39, Pl. 10, rev. 37. The suggestion (*ibid.* p. 94) that 'Šakkan - - - would seem to be a parallel to the Hebrew Shekinah, and - - - comes from the same root' would probably be rejected by the author now. Even this is superior to the views expressed by Ball, *PSBA* 32. 64-72, where among other gems we find the idea that *šekem ben Ḥamôr* is *šakan mâr imêri*.

which I am acquainted is the Iranian three-legged Khara (i. e. 'ass,' mod. *har*), standing in the cosmic sea Vourukaša, related both to the three-fold moon (cf. Siecke, *Hermes*, pp. 67 ff.) and to the three-legged Priapus,⁵⁴ whose phallic nature shows transparently thru the metonymy. The motive was familiar to the Indo-Iranians, as appears from the three-legged Indian Kubera (cf. Hopkins, *JAOS* 33. 56, n. 1).

Finally I will call attention to some curious parallels between Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Indo-Iranian mythology, suggested by the equation Sin = Šakan. Blackman, in a valuable article, *JEA* 3, 235-249, has proved that one of the writings of the name of the moon-god *Hnsu*, 'the wanderer,' represents him as the royal placenta, *hi-nišut*, *hnsu*, a conception paralleled among the Baganda. The real meaning of the idea has been cleared up by Van der Leeuw's happy suggestion (*JEA* 5. 64) that, since the Pharaoh was the incarnation of the sun-god Rê^c, his astral placenta, in which his *k*' was embodied, was the moon, often considered by the Egyptians as the *k*' of the sun. The moon's shape is such that it might easily be compared to a placental cake, or a womb, as was commonly done in Babylonia. In the great hymn to Sin (*IVR* 9), the moon is called (line 24): *ama-gan-nigin-na mulu ši-ma-al-la-da* (so *Sgl* 223) *ki-dur-maḡ ne-in-ri* 'Mother (Sem. *rîmu*, 'womb') who bears all life, who together with living creatures dwells in an exalted habitation.' The idea that the moon is the womb whence all life springs is most natural; does not the *roscida luna* exhibit a monthly failing and dimming corresponding often exactly to the menstrual period? Hence, by a most natural development under the influence of the life-index motive, the moon becomes the index of human life,⁵⁵ and especially of the permanence of the reigning dynasty; an eclipse foretold disaster to the state. These conceptions may easily be illustrated from the inscriptions. *CT* 16. 21. 184 f. we have: *lugal-e dumu-dingir-ra-na ud-sar dSin-na-dim zi-kalam-ma šú-dū* = 'The king, son of his god, who like the crescent moon holds the life of the land.' The principle that the mutations of the moon are an index to the health and prosperity of men could hardly be stated more clearly. The moon

⁵⁴ See Theocritus, *Ep.* 4, 2-3, σύκινον ἀρτιγλυφές ξόανον, τρισκελές.

⁵⁵ I hope to discuss this Babylonian conception elsewhere.

is the index of the dynasty in the text of Agum II, Col. 8, 3 ff.; *"Sin "Nannar šamê zêr šarrûti ana ûmê rûqûti liddiš* = 'May Sin, divine luminary of heaven, renew the royal seed to distant days,' i. e., may the dynasty renew itself spontaneously like the moon (Vedic *tanūnapāt*, 'self-created'), which is called (IVR. 9. 22) *gi-rim nî-ba mu-un-dîm-ma*, 'fruit which thru itself is created.'⁵⁶ To appreciate the intimate relationship between the Babylonian and the Egyptian conceptions it must be remembered that the placenta and navel-string are among the most primitive of life-indices; see Hartland, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 8, p. 45 a.

A further striking parallel to these conceptions is found in Indo-Iranian mythology. The lunar genius Narāsaṅsa- Nairyosaṅha (Neryosang) is called 'the king-navel' (cf. Gray, *ARW* 3. 45-49), properly 'the royal navel-string' (the umbilical cord often takes the place of the placenta in folklore). After Hillebrandt's treatment of Narāsaṅsa (*Vedische Mythologie*, II, pp. 98 ff.), his lunar character is certain; in the Ṛg-veda, 3. 29. 11, he is called 'son of his own body, the heavenly embryo' (or 'womb,' *garbho āsuro*); his title *gnāspati*, 'lord of women,' reflects the widespread popular view that female life varies with the moon. The *Būndahišn*, Ch. 15, tells us that Neryosang received two-thirds of Gayomart's semen for preservation; elsewhere we learn that the seed of the primeval bull was kept in the moon, whence, therefore, the race of animals sprang, just as the moon was the father of Apis in Egyptian mythology (cf. *JAOS* 39. 87, n. 42). I am not competent to decide whether Carnoy is justified in combining the motives of Gaya and the bull, thus deriving the seed of man from the moon (*JAOS* 36. 314). At all events the theory is good Indo-European, as is the association of the placenta with the moon; cf. 'Mondkalb,' referring to a false conception (*Kalb* connected with *garbha*, *δελφός*, 'womb'), but originally, perhaps, to the placenta.

In concluding this paper, I wish to repeat, with emphasis, the remarks made *JAOS* 39. 90, regarding the vital importance of combining the philological and comparative mythological

⁵⁶ Note ideogram for *Zirru* (*SGL* 225), 'priest of Sin,' *EN-NUNUZ-ZI*, literally 'priest of the constant offspring (of heaven)'. Sum. *nunuz* means also 'egg'; the moon might easily be called 'egg of heaven.'

methods in the study of cuneiform religious literature. Surely it is no longer necessary to stress the unique significance of the latter for the solution of comparative religious problems.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ In the year that has elapsed between the preparation of the paper and the correction of the proofs, much new material has become available some of which should be mentioned.

The Sumerians had a special word for 'life-index,' for so I would interpret *izkim-tila*, lit. 'sign, index of life,' rendered inadequately in Babylonian by *tukultu*, 'support,' and *ġiptu*, 'pledge.' Sometimes the king is the *izkim-tila* of the god (especially Šamaš), and at times the god is the *izkim-tila* of the king, respectively as the soul of the god was thought to reside in the king, or the soul of the king in the god. For passages cf. *SGL* 28 and Zimmern, *König Lipit-Ištars Vergöttlichung*, p. 25.

In a Neo-Babylonian text published by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 16. 145. 8-9, Lugal-gir-ra is identified with Sin, Gilgames with Meslamtaea and Nergal of the underworld. As pointed out above, Lugal-gira is identical with Gira-Šakan, so our association of Engidu-Šakan with the moon is confirmed. In the same way, as Thureau-Dangin observes (p. 149), Gilgames 'est ainsi nettement caractérisé comme dieu solaire.'

Schroeder, *MVAG* 21. 180 f., shows that the reading Lugalbanda is gratuitous, and that we must read Lugalmarada, or Lugalmarada, identified in his vocabulary with Ninurta. As late as the second century A. D. Ninmarada seems to have been worshiped under the name of Nimrod by the Aramaean population of Hatra (*OLZ* 23. 37). Kraeling's suggestion En-marad, quoted by Prince in his article *JAOS* 40. 201-203, is nearly correct; Prince suggests that the name stands for Sum. *ning-h'ud* = *nin-ġud*, 'brilliant hunter.'